

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00831 01 OF 02 011116Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----073360 011119Z /11

O 271424Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7760
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORNE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 0831

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2-3
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S LATEST VIEWS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 0818

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT NYERERE CALLED ME IN FOR FORTY-FIVE
MINUTE DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA AFTERNOON FEBRUARY 27. HIS
OBJECTIVE WAS CLEARLY TO GET HIS VIEWS ACROSS TO US PRIOR TO JOINT
US-UK PRESENTATION WHICH HE IS EXPECTING. HE REMAINED ADAMANT
ON THEME THAT SMITH INTERNAL SETTLEMENT CANNOT WORK AND URGED
UK GO AHEAD WITH ANOTHER MEETING WITH PF, SUGGESTING THAT
MUZOREWA MIGHT BE INCLUDED. HE INDICATED THAT FL WOULD BE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 DAR ES 00831 01 OF 02 011116Z

PREPARED DO ALL IT COULD TO GET PF AGREEMENT TO REASONABLE
PROPOSAL ON TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS IN MY VIEW, TALKING POINTS
PREPARED BY SECRETARY FOR US-UK PRESENTATION ARE STILL VIABLE
FOR "HOLDING ACTION", BUT WE WILL PROBABLY EITHER HAVE
TO GO AHEAD FAIRLY SOON WITH NEW MOVES ON ANGLO-AMERICAN
PLAN OR RISK LOSS OF MUCH OF NYERERE'S WILLINGNESS COOPERATE.
END SUMMARY.

2. IN REFTEL DRAFTED THIS MORNING I INDICATED THAT TALKING POINTS ON RHODESIA PROPOSED BY SECRETARY FOR JOINT UK-US APPROACH TO FL WERE LIKELY BE VIABLE. I ALSO ASKED IF DEPARTMENT WISHED GIVE ME ANYTHING TO USE IN EXPECTED SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE US SESSION WITH NYERERE. PLINY THE ELDER, "EX AFRICA SEMPER ALIQUID NOVI". VSTILL APPLIES (DAR 788) NYERERE CALLED BE IN THIS AFTERNOON FOR FORTH-FIVE MINUTE DISCUSSION OF PRESENT SITUATION ON RHODESIA.

3. NYERERE BEGAN BY SAYING HE EXPECTED US KNEW ALREUKY HOW HE FELT. HE HAD TOLD ANDY YOUNG IN HIS LETTER TO HIM. MKAPA HAD TOLD ME LAST SATURDAY. HE EXPECTED THAT SOME DAY SOON I AND MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE WOULD BE COMING IN TO GIVE HIM A JOINT POSITION. BUT HE WANTED TO REPEAT HIS VIEWS NOW TO THE US DIRECTLY. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN US, UK, TANZANIA AND ALL OF AFRICA WERE PERFECTLY CLEAR ON OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD AN INTERNAL SOLUTION. THAT CLARITY WAS NOW BEING BLURRED, BADLY IN LONDON, TO A DEGREE IN WASHINGTON. SMITH'S PROPOSALS SIMPLY WERE NOT "A SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD".

4. "IF I FAIL TO CONVINCE MY FRIENDS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT ACCEPTING AN INTERNAL SOLUTION," SAID NYERERE, " I WILL HAVE FAILED ON EVERYTHING. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WILL BECOME NOTHING MORE THAN A TANZANIAN PLAN AND WILL BE USELESS." AS NYERERE SEES IT, SMITH IS STILL FIGHTING. HIS FIGHTING ON THE GUERRILLA
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 DAR ES 00831 01 OF 02 011116Z

FRONT WITH STRIKES WITHIN RHODESIA AND AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE AND (WHICH, NYERERE SAID, COULD REALLY BE CALLED "THE AMERICAN FRONT") ZAMBIA. HE IS FIGHTING ON THE POLITICAL FRONT BY TRYING TO FORCE US INTO HAVING TO SAY HE HAS BECOME REASONABLE.

5 SMITH HAS NOT BECOME REASONABLE, NYERERE INSISTED. EVEN IF HE HAD, HIS APPROACH LEAVES NO PLACE FOR THE FIGHTERS, AND WE MUST HAVE PEACE AS WELL AS INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. IF SMITH SUCCEEDS, HE WILL SHAKE OFF MUZOREWA AT LEAST AND DO EXACTLY AS HE WANTS . IF WE (US-UK-FL) LOSE THE INITIATIVE, SMITH WILL HAVE WON. ALREADY, HE HAS ACHIEVED, NOT REPRESENTATION OD THE WHITES IN RHODESIA (WHICH IS LEGITIMATE), BUT REPRESENTATION OF THE RHODESIAN FRONT. HE IS EVADING THE MAIN POINT ON THE MAKE-UP OF THE SECURITY FORCES--WHICH POINT CONCEDED BY OWEN WHEN HE WAS HERE IS WHAT CAUSED AFRICAN TO SIGN UP WITH THE AAP.

6. NYERERE SAID HE HAD JUST MADE MOST OF THE ABOVE POINTS AS STRONGLY AS HE KNEW HOW TO FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHLER WHO IS NOT VISITING TANZANIA. HE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF I WOULD REITERATE THEM TO WASHINGTON ASAP.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00831 02 OF 02 271500Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----050985 271508Z /50

O 271424Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE NIACT 7761
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0831

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

7. I SAID I WOULD PASS ON HIS VIEWS AT ONCE. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT
THE IMPORTANT QUESTION IS
STILL WHAT COULD BE DONE TO PROMOTE THE
AAP WHICH WE ALL AGREED WAS THE BEST SOLUTION, NOT WHAT
COULD BE DONE TO DENOUNCE THE SALISBURY AGREEMENTS. THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD NOT BEEN COOPERATIVE WITH THE AAP. ITS
RECENT STATEMENTS IN MAPUTO CONDEMNING THE MACHINATIONS OF THE
"ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS" WERE NOT ENCOURAGING. WE COULD
NOT AFFORD ANOTHER MEETING WITH THE PF THAT ACHIEVED LITTLE OR
NOTHING. THAT WOULD INDEED BE THE END OF HHKIAAP. WE WERE EVEN
NOW WORKING WITH THE UK TO GET AN OUTLINE OF OUR POSITION WHICH WE
WOULD PRESENT TO HIM ASAP. OFF-THE-RECORD, I KNEW WHAT
SECRETARY VANCE FELT AND I THOUGH PRESIDENT NYERERE WOULD FIND
IT VALID. WHAT DID HE WANT US TO DO?

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 DAR ES 00831 02 OF 02 271500Z

8. " GET THE BRITISH TO CALL A MEETING WITH THE PF," NYERERE SAID. HE INDICATED THAT THE UK DID NOT HAVE TO CHASE OR KOWTOW TO THE PF, BUT THE UK SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR IT WISHED TO MEET AT A PARTICULAR TIME AND PLACE TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC THINGS. THE PF WILL COME, NYERERE SAID, ANDV F THE UK WANTS TO TALK SERIOUSLY, THE PF WILL TALK SERIOUSLY. "CALL AT LEAST MUZOREWA TO THE SAME MEETING," NYERERE ADDED. "GIVE HIM A CHANCE TO STAY ALIVE."

9. ELABORATING ON HIS VIEW OF WHAT A MEETING WITH THE PF COULD ACCOMPLISH, NYERERE SAID THAT THE UK SHOULD POCKET WHAT HAS

ALREADY BEEN AGREED. DON'T BRING IT UP AGAIN. WORK ON THE TWO REMAINING PROBLEMS: A PF ROLE IN THE GOVERNINGBODY AND A ROLE IN SECURITY MATTERS. TIE THE ARRANGEMENT TO "THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER ACTING IN COUNCIL". THE BRITISH KNOW HOW TO DO THAT. IF THEY DON'T KNOW, "LET THEM PUT IT TO US; THE FRONT LINE WILL TELL THEM WHAT IS REASONABLE AND WHAT IS NOT."

10. I ASKED, "WHAT IF THE PF DOESN'T AGREE?" NYERERE SAID IF THEY DON'T, "THEY CAN GO TO HELL AND WE'LL ALL BE FINISHED WITH THIS BUSINESS". I SUGGESTED THAT THE PF'S GOING TO HELL MIGHT RELIEVE OUR CONCERNS FOR THE MOMENT BUT WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF SOLUTION WE WERE ALL SEEKING. NYERERE AGREED, BUT ADDED THAT IF THE UK WOULD JUST DEFINE THIS MATTER OF POWER-SHARING DURING THE TRANSITION, IT WOULD AT LEAST GIVE HIM SOMETHING TO WORK WITH THE PF ON.

11. COMMENT: NYERERE HAS SIGNALLED WHAT HIS REPLY IS GOING TO BE TO ANY UK-US APPROACH. I STILL BELIEVE THE SECRETARY'S TALKING POINTS, IF WE CAN STICK TO THEM WITHOUT UK DILUTION, WILL BE ENOUGHT FOR A HOLDING ACTION HERE, ESPECIALLY IF WE CAN SPELL OUT TO NYERERE OUR "MINIMUM ESSENTIALS" FROM THE PF (PARA SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 DAR ES 00831 02 OF 02 271500Z

2 REFTEL). THERE MAY BE MUCH TO BE SAID FOR NOT SEEKING OUT THE PF FOR A MEETING IMMEDIATELY AND LETTING THE PF "TWIST IN THE WIND" FOR A LITTLE WHILE. HOWEVER, WE WILL HAVE TO FACE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE PREPARED TO GO ON WITH THEM FAIRLY SOON.

12. AT THE MOMENT, IT IS A FAIR BET THAT IF WE DECIDE NOT TO, WE WILL LOSE A GOOD DEAL OF COOPERATION FROM NYERERE. (DAR 0826, AMONG OTHERS, INDICATE OUR ANALYSIS OF HIS LONG-TERM OUTLOOK ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.) IF WE (READ THE BRITISH ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS) GO AHEAD, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER NYERERE AND HIS FL COHORTS HAVE THE WILL AND THE POWER TO BRING THE PF ALONG. CLEARLY, NYERERE IS STILL EAGER TO TRY.
SPAIN

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, NATIONALISTS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978DARES00831
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DC ALSO X2
Executive Order: X3
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: P840157-1978, P840157-2004
Format: TEL
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780210/aaaaaibb.tel
Line Count: 222
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: eabccdcc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 79 DAR ES SALAAM 818, 78 DAR ES SALAAM 818
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3426355
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040428
Subject: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S LATEST VIEWS
TAGS: PDEV, ZI, UK, TZ, RH, (NYERERE, JULIUS K)
To: STATE CAPE TOWN MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/eabccdcc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014